

is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-fests (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Merekè, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald

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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui*; a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atchu (viz. Tui Haateiho) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandran and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati*; it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave *ope fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono*, which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona*. In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono*, *kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

FIJIAN KAVA CEREMONY

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

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Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only.

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.¹⁴ The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig.

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*.

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

¹⁴ I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara*; the chiefly word is *sautambu*, holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu*.

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veim-bulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua*. At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-

[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).

[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vakavanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows were called *i loloku*; they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

consisted of two oxen, eleven cases of tinned beef, and two pigs; there was one oven from each clan in Tumbou, and one from Levuka, each including a case of beef or a pig. For a man of Tanggalevu and Thekena there was one oven from Thekena, one from Vatuwangga because his sister had married into that clan, one from Naivi because of his natural son whose mother was of Naivi, one from Joshua and his brothers, one from Narewandamu because Emosi and the deceased were "slightly brothers." The feast held for the death of Ratu Finau's little daughter was attended by Tumbou, Nasanggalau, Yandrana, Wathiwathi.

When the feast is piled up (*kele*) kava is served Tongan style (p. 60). Everything is done in noble fashion because the dead are noble. The feast is divided in the usual way with this difference that only those who brought kissing gifts receive a share; each person who brought one is reckoned as "one path." The portions are divided according to paths.

This death feast is observed by distant kinsfolk or subjects upon hearing of a death. The whole of Lakemba held one for King Edward VII.

The ladies of the *putu* go on sleeping in the house of the deceased. Formerly they stayed a hundred days, but the government stopped it because of the expense; for the kinsfolk of the deceased have to feed them all the time.

As long as the body is there the company sing religious songs only, but afterwards they sing Tongan dances and altogether have a merry time. Outside men and women are drinking kava, chattering, laughing, or singing. Formerly men used to hit the ladies of the mourning with banana suckers, but if a lady got hold of the man she stripped him naked. For an important death (*mate yatho*) this went on every night; one quarter of the village would say, "Let us go and strike the *putu*."

A writer in the Native Gazette complains that "the young men of the village go to drink kava in the house; every night they foregather there with the women, and evil arises from it. If there is a woman who cannot be achieved when in her own house she can be achieved in the house of mourning." Another writer, a man of Viti Levu commenting on this says that this custom is not to be found in Lomaiviti or in the outer parts of Fiji, only in Lau; he had never heard the terms *putu* and *tonitoni* before (11, Feb., p. 16, July, p. 16, 1891).

Nowadays at the end of five or ten days this comes to an end. On the morning after the last night the *filatila* (beating the cloth log) is held. A few rapid beats are struck on the log on which bark cloth is beaten, thus raising the interdict on this work. At one funeral this period was shortened because the High Chief saw no one to look after the ladies of the mourning.

The tenth night feast (*vakambongitini*) is larger than the burial feast, though smaller than the *imburua*. While the men prepare the ovens the

- 765 women of the mourning bathe, which they accomplish by going fishing. The "true kinsmen of the deceased" contributed one oven each group; one from Vatuwangga, one from Narewandamu, one from Tanggalevu and Thekena. The ovens are smaller than for the death feast, the pigs having been killed then, there is not much left for the tenth night; yet the oven for the tenth night is well attended to. While the young men pound the puddings the elders drink kava outside the house.

Of old the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula who watched and buried the body bathed on the tenth day. While ordinary baths were taken before, the ceremonial bathing was on the tenth day. This statement rests on the herald's authority only.

The morning after the death feast according to one, after the tenth night, according to another, sand is dug (*ta pata*). A layer of fine sand is spread out on the grave and over this a layer of coarse sand called *pata*. A small feast is made for those who take part in the work.

Later, it may be at the hundredth night, it may be earlier, pebbles (*kilikili*) are placed in a bowl of oil, and strewn on the grave to give a neat appearance. (See Pl. II, E.) The grave of a particularly beloved kinsman is spread with cotton cloth, bark cloth, and mats before the pebbles are strewn over it, so that the pebbles may lie well and the sand not touch them; calico and oiled bark cloth and scented necklets are laid on the top of the pebbles or hung on a horizontal stick over the grave, for anyone to take away. Bark cloth so hung up is called the fence (*mbai*) of the grave. That hung up for Ratu Isoa was given to the Methodist choir.

The feasts for strewing the pebbles was formerly a heavy charge. The dish in which to oil the pebbles had to be cut. The relatives of the deceased prepared gifts for the women who worked at the pebbles. The oiling is called *vakandranumi kilikili*.

The old style tomb consists of an oblong heap of earth with a revetment of slabs of the kind called *maka papa*, just like the foundation of a house, only on a smaller scale. Vaults are of Tongan origin and called by a Tongan name, *fonua loto*, "place within." They were only made for high chiefs. Formerly the walls and covering were made of slabs of *maka papa*. The late Tui Naiau's was made of cement and was opened twice, once to put in his widow, and once his son. The mound over his grave consisted of two tiers, the lower with a revetment of upright slabs, the upper with one of slabs laid horizontally.

Many people were buried inside the house of Matailakemba. The third Tui Naiau's eldest son was buried in the temple of Nautuutu.

If the deceased had many kinsfolk, they built a house on his grave to shade it. Portable houses (*vale siki*) were erected over the graves of nobles, consisting of a roof laid on the grave without walls or posts; three beams,

including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena*, crotons, and a plant called *vasa*.

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu*, forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tum-^[77] bou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawe ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Mātawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiiau it was the ball of coir string.

- 765 The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make *kaya* at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

- 775 When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba*, the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakarua*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu*, to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Vaeleilalai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba*. The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for [115] dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu yei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*nbongi*) or a pumice (*soatā*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (*Vale Levu*), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called a *nondra tangi na turangaa*: at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, [622] the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!

Move, move from there to here.
Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead [765] (*larua ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,